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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed responses to members of different outgroups or persons of another nationality, race, religion, culture, and social class in formerly West and East Germany and in the United States. These analyses support the position that a person's general values, specifically materialism or postmaterialsim, and general beliefs concerning control issues are related to the degree of prejudice shown. Cross-cultural research contributes to understanding of the underlying dynamics of prejudice. In the first step of this analysis, the psychological significance of the postmaterialism dimension is explored by demonstrating its relationship with Rokeach's Terminal Value survey and with general control beliefs. In the second step, the relationship between postmaterialism, control beliefs, and prejudiced reactions towards out group members is investigated. The role of cross-cultural research in studies of prejudiced responses is discussed. The study tries to make the case for considering the postmaterialistic value dimension in social psychological research. Postmaterialism is related to other values and general beliefs, and as such is quite relevant when understanding how a certain worldview shapes a person's outlook on life and reactions. Postmaterialism seems a worthwhile variable when considering prejudiced reactions. Not only does it relate to the level of prejudice, but it also opens a new avenue for studying prejudice by considering the relevance of the context in which it occurs. This study advocates opening up research on prejudiced reactions to include different targets of prejudice and to consider how different cultures relate to members of the same outgroup. (DK)

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Postmaterialism, Control beliefs and Prejudice: A Cross-Cultural Analysis

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Running Head: Prejudice

This paper was presented at the Meeting of the American Psychological Society in Chicago, Ill., June 24th - 27th, 1993.

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Abstract

Responses to members of different outgroups (persons of another nationality, race, religion, culture and social class) in formerly: West and East Germany and the USA are analyzed. These analyses support the position that a person's general values (here: Materialism / Post Materialism) and general beliefs concerning control issues are related to the degree of prejudice shown. We argue that cross-cultural research contributes to our understanding of the underlying dynamics of prejudice.

Postmaterialism, Control Beliefs and Prejudice: A Cross-Cultural Analysis

Problem

Survey research carried out in more than 30 countries over the past two decades has demonstrated a shift from materialistic to postmaterialistic value orientations in mass publics in Western industrialized societies (Inglehart, 1990). While political scientists and sociologists have studied the implications of this shift in great detail, (social) psychological research on this topic is still scarce. The question for psychologists concerning this value dimension is whether this dimension is relevant for understanding psychological processes. This paper attempts to provide a first answer to this question by pointing out that this value dimension is (a) related to other values and general beliefs and should thus be studied as part of a person's life philosophy, and by (b) demonstrating that this postmaterialism dimension is relevant when predicting cognitions and behaviors, specifically when it concerns outgroup members.

In a first part of this analysis, the psychological significance of the postmaterialism dimension is explored by demonstrating its relationship with Rokeach's Terminal Value Survey (Rokeach, 1973) and with general control beliefs (Levenson, 1981). In a second step, the relationship between postmaterialism, control beliefs and prejudiced reactions towards outgroup members will be investigated. The role of cross-cultural research in studies of prejudiced responses will be discussed.

Postmaterialism:

Its Relationship to Values and General Beliefs

In 1971, Ronald Inglehart, a political scientist, introduced the concept of postmaterialism to the scientific community. Since then he demonstrated the significance of this concept in numerous papers, book chapters and most extensively in his recent book "Culture Shift" (Inglehart, R., 1990). In his empirical research and in the rich literature that has developed around his work, the dramatic change in values -- the "silent revolution" (Inglehart, R., 1977) -- that has taken place during the past two decades in Western industrialized societies is documented convincingly. This research , based on surveys carried out in more than 30 countries over the past 20 years, indicates that prevailing value priorities in industrialized societies changed from being predominantly materialistic to being more postmaterialistic. Specifically, while the top priorities among mass publics in the 1970s tended to focus on primary needs such as physical sustenance and safety, there has been a substantial rise since then in Postmaterialistic values which emphasize belonging, self-expression, and the quality of life.

He developed a scale to measure Postmaterialism (see Table 1a) which in its long and its short version is used in survey research in more than 40 different countries all over the world.

-- Include Table 1a about here --

Considering the fact that this shift in value priorities is related to such political phenomena as the level of democratization in a country or economical behavior and to social phenomena such as the degree of church attendance and adherence to organized religions in societies (Inglehart, 1990) might lead to the question for psychologists what the psychological significance of this value dimension might be. Values seem to be a neglected topic for psychologists in the 70s and 80s -- partly due to the fact that

psychology was widely dominated by a cognitive revolution. However, it might be time to open up the debate and include motivational variables such as values more into psychological research.

Considering postmaterialism it seems interesting to understand how this value dimension relates to other values and general beliefs. Rotter's Terminal Value Survey (1973) is the most widely used measure of values. According to Inglehart's rationale that materialists are more concerned with security needs, while postmaterialists are more concerned with values beyond security needs in Maslow's value hierarchy, Postmaterialistic values should correlate negatively with such terminal values as national security, comfortable life and family security, and they should correlate positively with such terminal values as equality, beauty, and inner harmony (see Inglehart, 1979, p. 318).

Concerning other general beliefs it seems interesting to investigate the relationship between postmaterialism and control beliefs. Postmaterialists should be more likely to have an internal locus of control and less likely to have an external locus of control. Two rationales can be given for this hypothesis. First, postmaterialists are seen as more confident about the world and as less concerned with security issues. This fact might relate to them being more likely to feel in charge and less likely to feel controlled by others or fate. Second, one mediating factor that might explain why postmaterialists might be more likely to have internal control beliefs is the level of education. Postmaterialists tend to be more highly educated, and the level of education seems to be also positively correlated with internal control beliefs.

The Underlying Process

The second aspect of interest for psychologists when considering

postmaterialistic values is the question how it is related to other psychological phenomena. One area that might be a prime candidate for investigating the impact of postmaterialism is the domain of research on prejudice and discrimination. Earlier research demonstrated that Postmaterialists tend to hold more liberal attitudes towards social and sexual issues. This might relate to them being more open towards the acceptance of outgroup members. Therefore, the effect of postmaterialism on prejudiced reactions towards outgroup members need to be studied.

Social psychological research on the causes and dynamics of prejudiced reactions is vast. Literature searches usually come up with hundreds of articles. Explanations of these issues can be organized according to the four levels at which analyses of these phenomena are conducted. Some researchers (see for example Fox, 1992) take a socio-biological approach; others focus on the basic (cognitive and / or motivational) processes involved (see for example Hamilton, 1981) or are geared towards understanding how individual differences such as self esteem (see for example Crocker, Thompson, McGraw & Ingerman, 1987) or the degree to which a person has an authoritarian personality (Altemeyer, 1988) influence prejudiced reactions; finally, analyses of social interactional factors as sources of prejudice are also presented in the research (see Inglehart, in prep., for an overview of research on these four levels).

In this presentation, the influence of a motivational variable, namely the materialism / postmaterialism value dimension, and of a cognitive individual difference factor, namely control beliefs, on the degree of prejudiced reactions are investigated.

According to crosscultural research, postmaterialists tend to have more liberal attitudes in the social and sexual domains (Inglehart, 1990). We

expect to find that postmaterialists are less prejudiced towards members of out groups (members of another nationality, race, religion, culture and social class) than materialists.

Considering the influence of control beliefs on prejudiced reactions is interesting. On one hand, one might argue that persons with strong internal control beliefs tend to be highly educated and that higher educational level is negatively related to prejudice and discrimination. Furthermore, if persons focus on themselves as the sources of outcomes, this might make them less prone to blame others as the causes for begative life outcomes, and thus to scape goat others. However, there seems to be a clear relationship between internal control beliefs and Lerner's just world beliefs. This would lead persons with strong internal control beliefs to expect others -- including members of outgroups -- to take charge of their own lives and to blame less fortunalte members of society for not "being better off" according to their strong belief that "bad things happen to bad people". This makes an interesting argument for investigating the relationship between control beliefs and prejudiced reactions. However, one prediction can clearly be made and this is the prediction that the more a person believes in control by powerful others, the more outfocused and thus prejudiced this person should be.

Method

During the Fall Term 1991, surveys were conducted with 204 undergraduates at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, with 56 students at the university of Jena (formerly: East Germany) and with 201 students at the universities of Muenster and Bochum (formerly: West Germany). During the spring of 1992, 134 middle aged and older adults in the USA who had volunteered to participate in psychological research responded to our questionnaire which they received in

the mail. These samples consisted of volunteers and were not representative of the populations in these countries.

The questionnaire administered to these four samples of respondents included -- among other scales -- the long version of the materialism / post materialism scale (Inglehart, 1977; see table 1a), measures of control beliefs (Levenson, 1981; Koppelin, 1976; see table 1b) and measures of reactions towards persons from another nationality, religion, race, culture and social class. These intergroup questions referred to reactions towards these persons in general (how many there are seen as being in the country; how disturbed the respondent is by the presence of these persons), and specifically whether these persons were neighbors and / or friends; they were also concerned with social issues (see table 1c for the wording of these questions and answers).

-- Include Tables 1b, 1c about here --

Results

The predictions concerning the relationship of postmaterialistic values with certain terminal values were supported by the data. As can be seen in Table 2, the degree of Materialism correlated positively with the terminal values "comfortable life", "family security" and "national security". It correlated negatively with the terminal values "equality", "inner harmony" and for older adults in the USA with "wisdom". On a methodological level, these results can be seen as an external validity check: the postmaterialism scale actually does measure what Inglehart (1977) claims it does. On a theoretical level, it is interesting to understand that this value dimension is embedded in a person's life philospohy, that it is part of a network of values and beliefs.

-- Include Tables 2 and 3 about here --

It is also interesting to see the results concerning the relationship of

postmaterialistic values with control beliefs. As can be seen in Table 3, the correlations are in the predicted direction, but only partly significant. It seems worthwhile to investigate this topic in further studies.

The results concerning the relationship between postmaterialism and prejudiced reactions can be found in Table 4. These results show that overall there seems to be support for our hypothesis of a positive correlation between materialism and prejudiced reactions. The more postmaterialistic the respondents were, the less they thought that there were too many outgroup members in the country, the less disturbed they were by their presence and the more outgroup members lived in their neighborhood. Concerning the number of friends from outgroups, an interesting finding occurs in the sample of the East German students: the more postmaterialistic they are, the fewer outgoup members they have among their friends. Concerning the endorsement of prejudiced statements, the results are also quite interesting: On the whole there is a tendency across the cultures and across the five domains from which outgroup members were chosen for the predicted negative relationship between postmaterialism and prejudice. However, for older adults in the USA this pattern was reversed when it came to members of another social class.

-- Include Table 4 about here --

The results concerning the relationship between locus of control and prejudice can be seen in table 5. This table might be quite confusing. However, two apsects of these findings deserve attention. First, the correlations between God control and prejudice are significant and in the direction that the higher a person's God control beliefs are, the more prejudiced the person would be. Second, the heterogeneity of results might lead us to consider the importance of (a) the context in which a prejudiced reaction is embedded, that is in which country the respondents live, and (b)

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the domain of prejudice, that is whether the prejudices pertain, for example, to members of another race, religion or social class.

Discussion

This paper tries to make the case for considering the postmaterialistic value dimension in (social) psychological research. It is quite obvious that Postmaterialism is related to other values and general beliefs and as such is quite relevant when understanding how a certain worldview shapes a person's outlook on life and his / her reactions. Furthermore, postmaterialism seems definitely a worthwhile variable when considering prejudiced reactions. Not only does it clearly relate to the level of prejudice. It also opens a new avenue for studying prejudice, namely by considering the relevance of the context in which it occurs. Crosscultural research can be very interesting at this point. It provides a way to study structural differences. Understanding a society's level of extreme materialists and extreme postmaterialists might be one clue to understanding the potential for prejudiced reactions.

By considering prejudices towards different outgroups in different countries, it also becomes evident that structural factors -- such as the number of certain outgroup members in a given country and the historical / political / social factors affecting the role of certain outgroups in certain cultures -- are clearly relevant when trying to understand how prejudices work. In this sense, this paper argues to open up research on prejudiced reactions to include different targets of prejudice and to consider how different cultures relate to members of the same outgroup.

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Table 1a: Materialism / Postmaterialism Scale (Inglehart, 1977)

There is a lot of talk these days about what this country's goals should be for the next 10-15 years. Below, some of the goals are listed that different people say should be given top priority. Please, indicate which one of the four goals presented here you yourself consider most important in the long run, and which would be your 2nd choice.

	First choice	Second choice
01. Maintainting a high level of economic growth.	_____	_____
02. Making sure that this country has strong defense forces.	_____	_____
03. Seeing that people have more to say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities.	_____	_____
04. Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful.	_____	_____

And which of the next four goals would be your first and your second choice?

	First choice	Second choice
05. Maintaining order in the nation.	_____	_____
06. Giving the people more say in important government decisions.	_____	_____
07. Fighting rising prices.	_____	_____
08. Protecting freedom of speech.	_____	_____

And which of the next four goals would be your first and your second choice?

	First choice	Second choice
09. A stable economy	_____	_____
10. Progress towards a less impersonal and more humane society.	_____	_____
11. Progress towards a society in which ideas count more than money.	_____	_____
12. The fight against crime.	_____	_____

Now would you look again at all the 12 goals listed above. Which one do you think is the most desirable? number: _____

And which is the next most desirable goal? number: _____

Table 1b: Terminal Values Survey (Rokeach, 1973)

Below is a list of 18 values in alphabetical order. We are interested in finding out the relative importance of these values to you.

Study the list carefully. Then place a 1 next to the value which is most important to you, place a 2 next to the value which is second most important, etc. The value which is least important should be ranked 18.

When you have completed ranking all values, go back and check over your list. Feel free to make changes. Please, take all the time you need to think about this, so that the end result truly represents your values.

_____ A COMFORTABLE LIFE (a prosperous life)
_____ AN EXCITING LIFE (a stimulating, active life)
_____ A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT (lasting contribution)
_____ A WORLD AT PEACE (free of war and conflict)
_____ A WORLD OF BEAUTY (beauty of nature and the arts)
_____ EQUALITY (brotherhood, equal opportunities for all)
_____ FAMILY SECURITY (taking care of loved ones)
_____ FREEDOM(independence, free choice)
_____ HAPPINESS (contendedness)
_____ INNER HARMONYfreedom from inner conflict)
_____ MATURE LOVE (sexual and spiritual intimacy)
_____ NATIONAL SECURITY (protection from attack)
_____ PLEASURE (an enjoyable, leisurely life)
_____ SALVATION (saved, eternal spirit)
_____ SELF -RESPECT (self-esteem)
_____ SOCIAL RECOGNITION (respect, admiration)
_____ TRUE FRIENDSHIP (close companionship)
_____ WISDOM (a mature understanding of life)

Table 1c: Questions and answers of the prejudice items

All questions referred to members of (a) another nationality, (b) race, (c) religion, (d) culture and (e) social class.

F1. Generally speaking, how do you feel about the number of people of another nationality, another race, another religion, another culture, or another social class living in this country? Would you say there are too many, a lot but not too many, or not many?

F3. Some people are disturbed by the opinions, customs and way of life of people different from themselves. Do you personally, in your daily life, find the presence of those people very disturbing, somehow disturbing or not disturbing at all?

F9. How many of the following persons live in your neighborhood? Are there many, few or none, in your neighborhood?

F10. If you had a choice, were there none, fewer or more of these people in your neighborhood?

F11. Are there many, few or none of these people that you count among your friends?

F13. Now you will read some opinions. For each opinion, please tell me to which if any kinds of people it applies.

(a) If there are a lot of their children in a school, it reduces the level of education.

(b) They exploit social security benefits.

(c) Their presence is one of the causes of delinquency and violence.

(d) Marrying into this group always ends bad.

(e) To have them as neighbors creates problems.

(f) Their presence in the neighborhood modifies the prices of property.

Table 2: Correlations between the Postmaterialism score and the terminal value scores

	POSTMATERIALISM Fall '91		POSTMATERIALISM Spring '92	
A COMFORTABLE LIFE	.29	***	.22	**
AN EXCITING LIFE	.06		-.22	**
A SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT	.02		.12	
A WORLD AT PEACE	-.24	***	.23	**
A WORLD OF BEAUTY	-.25	***	-.03	
EQUALITY	-.32	***	-.07	
FAMILY SECURITY	.16	**	.23	**
FREEDOM	-.14	*	-.03	
HAPPINESS	-.02		-.05	
INNER HARMONY	-.17	**	-.27	**
MATURE LOVE	.13	*	-.27	**
NATIONAL SECURITY	.26	***	.43	***
PLEASURE	.04		.12	+
SALVATION	.18	**	.01	
SELF -RESPECT	-.02		-.17	*
SOCIAL RECOGNITION	.12	*	-.02	
TRUE FRIENDSHIP	-.08		.03	
WISDOM	.02		-.28	**

Table 3: Correlations between Postmaterialism and control beliefs

Control Belief:	Postmaterialism: Fall '91	Spring ' 92
Internal	.08	.10
Chance	-.07	-.23 **
Others	-.06	-.13 +
God	-.25 ***	-.04

Table 4: Correlations of prejudice items and postmaterialism

	USA students	USA adults	East German students	West German students
Feelings about the number of ...	.09 +	.16 *	.23 *	.06
Degree of disturbed feelings towards ...	-.28 ***	-.23 ***	-.14	-.01
Number of ... in neighborhood	-.15 **	-.08	-.27 *	-.12 *
Number of ... among friends	.07	-.32 ***	.36 ***	-.02 **
Sum of statements about members of:				
nationality	-.06	-.09	-.19 +	-.02
race	-.24 *	-.17 *	-.27 *	-.10 +
religion	.09	-.08	-.23 *	.08
culture	-.08	-.12 +	-.21 *	-.12 *
social class	-.07	.13 +	-.29 **	-.01

Table 5: Correlations between prejudice items and locus of control beliefs

	USA students	USA adults	East German students	West German students
Feelings about	- / -	.20*/ -	- / -	- / -.11*
the number of ...	-.10+/ -	-.26**/ -	- / -	- / -
Degree of disturbed	- /.13*	- / -	- / -	- / -
feelings towards ...	17**/ -	.23**/.27**	.17+/.18+	- /.13*
Number of ...	- /.14*	- / -13+	- / -	- / -
in neighborhood	.20**/.22**	- / -	- /.34**	- /19**
Number of ...	.10+/ -	-/-13+	-.19+/.33**	.12*/-
among friends	-.15*/ -	-/.16+	- / -	- / -
Sum of statements about members of:				
nationality	- / -	- / -	- / -	.09+/.19**
	.21**/.20**	.21*/ -	- /.19+	- / -
race	.13* /.17*	.12+/.20**	- / -	.13*/.10+
	.20**/.26**	.26**/.28**	- /.26**	- /-.14*
religion	- / -	- / .22**	-/ -	- /-.10+
	- /.18**	.18*/.20*	-/.24*	- / -
culture	- / -	- / -	-.19+/ -	- / -
	.17*/.11+	.15+/ -	.19+/.37*	-/.08*
social class	- / -	- /-.18*	.20+/ -	- / -
	.12+/.07+	- /.13+	- / -	- /.10+

Legend: The correlation coefficients are organized in the following fashion: internal / God
fate / others